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#### XIV.—PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

In a previous study,<sup>1</sup> I have aimed to show that, in

<sup>1</sup>*Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*, Baltimore, 1908.

The following texts, either in whole or in part, have been read for this study: *Alexandre* (ed. Meyer), *Aie d'Avignon*, *Aiquin*, *Wace's Brut*, *Conte de la Charrette*, *Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, *Cligès*, *Erec*, *Fierebras*, *Gui de Bourgogne*, *Gui de Nanteuil*, *Ivain*, *Perceval le Gaulois*, *Roman de Rou*, *Saisnes*, *Roman de Thèbes*, *Roman de Troie*, and the *Chevalerie de Vivien*. In addition to these texts, see list of texts cited in Stowell, *Old French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*, under *General Bibliography*. Also, the following cartularies, either in whole or in part, from the North, South, East, West, and Center of France, have been examined for this study: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras*; *Cartulaire d'Aureil*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu en Limousin*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bonport*; *Recueil des chartres de Boussages*; *Cartulaire municipal de Cahors*; *Cartulaire de l'ancien diocèse de Carcassonne*; *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Challans*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint Corneille de Compiègne*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*; *Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil*; *Chartres de Corbigny*; *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Geneviève de Fronsac*; *Cartulaire de l'Aumônerie de Saint-Martial de Limoges*; *Cartulaire de Loc-Dieu*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*; *Cartulaire des Guillems de Montpellier*; *Cartulaire du Chapitre de l'église Notre Dame de Nîmes*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Noyers*; *Cartulaire de l'église cathédrale Saint-Croix d'Orléans*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Perseigne*; *Cartulaire de la ville de Rodez* (in *Coutumes et privilèges du Rouergue*, Vol. I, par Em. Baillaud et P. A. Verlaquet, Toulouse, 1904); *Cartulaire de La Chartreuse de Saint-Hugon-en-Savoie*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert-en-Ardenne*; *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-d'Angely*; *Cartulaire de Sauzillanges*; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse*; *Cartulaire de l'abbayes de Tulle et de Roc-Amadour*; *Cartulaire du monastère de Saint-Pierre de Vigeois*; and *Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Uzerche*.

Medieval France, personal relationships among men played a more important *rôle* than they do in modern times; that, therefore, there often arose a fixed code of rules to govern such relations, which assumed the character of formal institutions; that the study of personal relationships in Medieval France is, as a consequence, of greater importance than would be an examination into similar modern alliances; that there were two general kinds of personal relations: the relations between the *seigneur* and the follower, and the relations between follower and follower.

It was furthermore shown that the relations between *seigneur* and follower, and between follower and follower, in Medieval France were derived from those which, during the first centuries of the Christian era, existed between chief and warrior, and between warrior and warrior, among the Teutonic tribes; that the adoption in France of these Germanic relationships was made easy both because they were similar to those already existing in Gaul between the patron and client and between client and client, and also because the conditions of anarchy then prevailing were favorable to personal institutions of all kinds; that there existed two kinds of relationships between *seigneur* and follower: first, a less close relation between the *seigneur* and those of his supporters who were not members of his personal following, of his *maisniee*<sup>1</sup>—a bond which on account of its lax character need not be made the subject of investigation; second, a more close relation existing between the *seigneur* and the members of his *maisniee*—a bond of the closest nature and deserving careful investigation; that it seemed probable that this relation was *amistié* and not *compagnonage* as pre-

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the *maisniee*, see Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

vious writers had supposed; <sup>1</sup> that *compagnonage* was the relation existing among the followers of a *seigneur* only.

These conclusions concerning *amistié* and *compagnonage* were, however, based upon examples of *amis* and *compainz* as titles in direct address only, and not upon a study of the relationships themselves in the Old-French texts. Furthermore, no attempt was made in the previous study to investigate in any detail their nature or their history. The present monograph is, on the contrary, founded upon a special investigation of Old-French texts of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and from all sections of France.<sup>2</sup> It proposes to confirm or refute the conclusions of the earlier study, and particularly to investigate in detail the nature of *amistié* and *compagnonage*.

## I. NATURE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SEIGNEUR AND FOLLOWER IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

In the Old-French texts consulted for this study,<sup>3</sup> the only term used to designate the personal relation between a *seigneur* and the followers of his *maisniee* is *amistié*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Flach (*Les Origines de l'Ancienne France, Paris, 1886-93, Vol. III, pp. 435 ff.*) has given the name of *compagnonage* to this relationship. See *infra*, pp. 400 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 388, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See also Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> See examples quoted *infra*. In the Old-French texts, the "normal" meaning of *amistié* was 'friendship,' the "normal" meaning of *amis* was 'friend.' Examples of the words used in these meanings are found in works of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries and from all sections of the territory. *Amis* was also universally employed in the meaning 'lover' in texts of the same centuries and from all sections of France. See Stowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.

Furthermore, the latter are often referred to as the *seigneur's amis*,<sup>1</sup> and the *seigneur* frequently addresses them as *amis*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it is concluded that the tie between the personal followers of the *maisniee* and the *seigneur* was that of *amistié*,<sup>3</sup> that *amis* was employed in Old-

<sup>1</sup> See examples quoted *infra*. A *seigneur's* personal follower was also designated as his *privé*, his *feil*, or his *dru*. These terms do not stand, however, for any relationship between them. They were, furthermore, synonymous with *amis*, as may be seen from the following examples: Ne fust Hunaus, qui i estoit venu, Gautiers de Termes, ses amis et ses druz. (*Covenant Viviens*, 1398); "Que fait mes amis et mes druz, Percevaus, li bien afaities" (*Perceval le Gaulois*, 23738); De cest prist Rous estreiz conseilz Od ses amis, od ses feilz (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 4958); see also *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 133: *Gui de Nanteuil*, 1364, 1365; *Alexandre* (ed. Meyer), 247.

<sup>2</sup> See Stowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In my previous study, I have shown that it was natural that such a name should be given to this relationship because the relation existing between a Roman *seigneur* and his vassals was also that of *amistié* (*amicitia*). See *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Fustel de Coulanges, *Les Origines du Système Féodal*, pp. 205 ff., conclusively proves that, during the Roman and Frankish Empires, the powerful clients or vassals of a great *seigneur* were designated as his *amici*, while the bond which united them to him was *amicitia*. Du Cange (*Glossarium*) says under *amicus*: Sic more regum nostrorum, domini superiores amicos appellabant feudales suos, and cites in confirmation of his statement such examples as the following: Egiddeo regalium primus amicorum appellatus est (*Vita Ludovici Imp. ap. Pertz*); Quidam nobilium, G. nomine praepotens vir, dominus castri quod sinemurus vocatur minia capitis infirmitate oppressus . . . totam funditus perdidit memoriam. Unde omnis ejus clientela, quae in obsequio illius non pauca deserviebat, mente consternata super suo dominio, questibus et lamentis, expers consilii omnem suam impendebat operam. Quique etiam viri illustres, qui seu affinitate seu amicitia, seu beneficia sibi adjuncti videbantur, super hoc ipsius infortunio valde afflicti, non minima detinebantur cordio angustia. Communi igitur consilio inito statuerunt debere eum invisere praecipuorum memorias sanctorum (*Miracles de Saint Benoît*, livre VIII, par Raoul Tartaire, pp. 346-7; *fin XI siècle*).

French in the "transferred" meaning 'a member of the *maisniee*.'<sup>1</sup>

There were different kinds of *amis* and different grades of *amistié*.<sup>2</sup> The highest grade comprised the *charnels amis*,<sup>3</sup> the *prochains amis*,<sup>4</sup> and the *naturels amis*,<sup>5</sup> those

<sup>1</sup>In *op. cit.*, p. 20, it was shown that the origin of the use of *amistié* as the term to denote the relation between *seigneur* and follower lies in the use of *amis* as a title in direct address. It was to the advantage of a *seigneur* to make the bonds which joined his followers to him as easy as possible. He consequently aimed at concealing his superiority under a veil of seeming comradeship, and at conciliating and flattering his followers by placing them, in appearance at least, on a level of equality with himself. With a view to doing this, he chose the simple expedient of addressing them as *amis*, a title which implied equality between the speaker and hearer. The follower, however, realized that this equality, thus implied by the *seigneur*, was a fiction, and that the nature of the bond between them differed, to a considerable degree, from friendship in the "normal" meaning of that word (see *infra*, p. 393). The relation between them consisted in the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior as manifested by the *seigneur*, and in the respectful homage of an inferior to a superior as offered by the vassal. Such being the case, the meaning of *amis*, as used as a title to designate this relationship, differed considerably from the "normal" meaning of the word as used to designate true friendship. Superiority and condescending good will on the part of the speaker were the most important concepts composing this "transferred" meaning, which was, from the speaker's standpoint, 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to a follower of his *maisniee*.' Used in this "transferred" meaning otherwise than as a title, *amis* signified 'a member of the *maisniee*' and *amistié* came to be employed as a term to designate the tie between a *seigneur* and the members of his *maisniee*.

<sup>2</sup>Rou parcels out conquered land to his followers: A departir e a doner la terre a ses plus hanz amis; Si cum il sunt de major pris (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 7027).

<sup>3</sup>The Duke of Poitou is asked by Count William of Normandy for the hand of his sister: Por aveir od vos aliance, Amor, tenemenz, e fiance, Dunt nos seion mais a tuz dis Entre nos deus charneus amis (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 9878).

An emperor, speaking of the death of many of his men and rela-

members of the *maisniee* who were relatives of the *seigneur*. Next came the *amis privés*,<sup>1</sup> those followers who, while unrelated, were closest to the *seigneur*. Lastly, came the ordinary *amis*, the rank and file of his personal following.<sup>2</sup>

*Amistié*, the personal bond between *seigneur* and follower, is radically different from the tie of friendship; *amis* used as a term for the follower of a *seigneur* does not mean 'friend.' Friendship is a mutual relation.<sup>3</sup> If *amistié* were friendship, the follower would be the *amis* of his *seigneur* and the *seigneur* would be the *amis* of his follower; furthermore, the follower would address his *seigneur* as *amis* and the *seigneur* would address his follower as *amis*. *Amistié* is not a mutual relation. The follower stands in a relation to the *seigneur* different from that in

tives, including his brother, says: "Mors sont mes hommes et mes charnelx amys" (*Aquin*, 1038); Renaus fu en la tor o ses charnels amis (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 367; speaking of relatives of Renaut); Qui ot cosin, neveu, ne frere, Ami charnel, oncle, ne pere, Ne l'i atent plus que autri (*Guillaume de Palerme*, 2375; speaking of a battle); Il s'entrebesent, neveu sont et ami (*Couronnement Louis*, 1486; speaking of Count William and his nephews); in the *Charroi de Nimes* (600), the nephews of Count William are spoken of as his *amis*; in the *Rou* (Part II, 3310) the nephews of King Otes are spoken of as his *amis*.

\*Car il n'ublieront jamés lor parens, lor oncles, lor peres, lor neveux, lor fils, et lor freres, Et lor altres amis procains Que nous avons mort a nos mains (*Brut*, 530).

°Il n'est pas sans amis, maint en a naturel (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 372, speaking of a powerful noble).

<sup>1</sup> Emperor Charles says that he desires to be beloved: Et bien de mon barnage et mes amis privés (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 271).

<sup>2</sup> See examples quoted *infra*.

<sup>3</sup>The mutual equality of friendship is clear in those cases where *amis* and *amistié* are employed in their "normal" meanings. Examples in the Old-French are the following: Rollant apelet sun ami et sun per (*Roland*, 1975; Oliver is referred to); Viaut donc Yvain ocirre Mon seignor Gauvain, son ami (*Yvain*, 6071).

which the *seigneur* stands to the follower.<sup>1</sup> The follower is the *amis* of his *seigneur*; the *seigneur* is never the *amis* of his follower.<sup>2</sup> The *seigneur* addresses his follower as "*amis*." The follower never thus addresses his *seigneur*.<sup>3</sup> Friendship is a relation which presumes mutual equality. *Amistié* is the relation between *seigneur* and follower, between whom there was not mutual equality.<sup>4</sup> Friendship is an informal bond, arising spontaneously, unconsciously, because the persons concerned happen to be temperamentally congenial. No ceremonies mark its incep-

<sup>1</sup> The nature of this relationship has been already discussed on *supra*, page 392, note 1, where it has been shown to have consisted in the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior as manifested by the *seigneur* and in the respectful homage of an inferior to a superior as offered by the vassal.

<sup>2</sup> The personal followers of Count William of Orange (*Couronnement Louis*, 2659), of Count Viviers (*Covenant Viviers*, 1398), of the Saracen king (*Covenant Viviers*, 76), of King Otes (*Rou*, Part II, 3165), of Rou (*Rou*, Part II, 357), of Count William of Normandy (*Rou*, Part II, 1507), of Count Tiebaut of Chartres (*Rou*, Part II, 4011), of Count Richard of Normandy (*Rou*, Part II, 4034), of the King of England (*Brut*, 5932), of the King of Norway (*Brut*, 10090), of King Arthur (*Cligès*, 1063; *Charrette*, 6878; *Perceval le Gaulois*, 23738), of Emperor Charles of France (*Roland*, 2024; *Aquin*, 1017; *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 13; p. 271), of King Louis of France (*Aliscans*, 3296), of King Alexander of Greece (*Alexandre*, Arsenal mss., 247) are spoken of as the *amis* of their *seigneur*. In these examples and in more than three hundred others gathered for this study, the *seigneur* is never spoken of as the *amis* of his followers.

<sup>3</sup> King Arthur addresses Lancelot as "*amis*" (*Charrette*, 6878); Lancelot addresses him as "*beaus sire*." For a more complete discussion of this question, see Stowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff., and pp. 195 ff. Among the eight hundred and more examples of *amis* gathered for that study, there is not a single example in which the word was used by a follower as a title for a *seigneur*.

<sup>4</sup> Speaking of two men bound by *amistié*: Cume sires vassal li uns l'altre honura (*Rou*, Part II, 1346); see also, *supra*, p. 392, note 1.



tion and the extent of its duties is unlimited and undefined. *Amistié* was a more formal bond than friendship. It was formally granted by the *seigneur* and accepted by the follower, the ceremony often taking place before witnesses.<sup>1</sup> In case the bond was broken, it was formally recalled by the *seigneur* or returned by the follower.<sup>2</sup>

*Amistié* imposed upon the contracting parties certain well defined duties and obligations. The *seigneur* should arm,<sup>3</sup> support and equip<sup>4</sup> his *amis*, should trust him,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Richard of Normandy (follower) and the King of France (*seigneur*) make a truce: Les trieves a dunees e si a otreié, Qu'entre lui et le rei preignent ferme amistié, Devant tut le barnage e devant le clergé, Altrement, tendreit tut a gap e a feintié (*Rou*, Part II, 4331). The King of France sends word to the King of Germany, his follower, Qu'il viegne prendre od lui amur e aliance, Amistiez sans feintise ki ja mais n'ait seurance, Si seit aseuree entrels par covenance Que l'uns d'els n'ait vers l'autre dute ne mescreance (*Rou*, Part II, 1603); Hugh Capet comes to Normandy to visit the Duke, his follower, Pur prendre amur al duc e pur els aproismier (*Rou*, Part II, 1561); The King of France and Rou, his follower, become great comrades: Li reis a l'amistié de Rou graantee. Jur asist as mesages qu'ele fust afermee (*Rou*, Part II, 297).

<sup>2</sup> Emperor Charles tells a noble, his follower and *amis*, that if he does not give him certain information: "M'amistiez et la vostre ert tote departie" (*Gui de Bourgogne*, 100); Count William is angry with King Louis, his *seigneur*, because the latter will not aid him to succor Aliscans: Et dist au roi: "Vostre fié vos randon; N'en tendrai mes vaillissant un bouton, Ne vostre amis serai ne vostre homs (*Aliscans*, 3296).

<sup>3</sup> See *Aliscans*, 2877 ff.

<sup>4</sup> At Arthur's coronation, A cels qui d'autre terre estoient, Qui por amur a lui venoient, Dona armes et bons destriers, Et ses aornemens plus chiers (*Brut*, 10815); A noble parcels out conquered territory to his followers: La terre a ses plus hauz amis, Si cum il sunt de major pris (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 7027); A certain king: De par tout son rivage a les bons chevaux pris, Les nez et les galies qu'il donne a ses amis (*Gui de Nanteuil*, 1909).

<sup>5</sup> See *Rou*, Part II, 1603 (quoted *supra*, note 1).

listen to his counsel,<sup>1</sup> and avenge his death.<sup>2</sup> The *amis* should be faithful to his *seigneur*,<sup>3</sup> honor and trust him.<sup>4</sup> counsel him,<sup>5</sup> serve him and fight for him in time of need,<sup>6</sup> and avenge his death.

*Amistié*, the tie that bound a *seigneur* and his personal followers, differs from *vassalage*, the tie that bound him

<sup>1</sup>Count William of Normandy says to his followers: "S'a mei servir estes joius E entendis e desiros, Si vos tendrai amis feeiz Que tot ferai a vos conseilz" (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 9046).

<sup>2</sup>Count William worries about his nephew Vivien whom he believes killed by the Saracens, he says: "Comment porrai mon chier ami vengier" (*Covenant Vivien*, 1118); A king speaking of his nephew who has been killed, says: "Mun ami voil vengier que Normant m'unt tué" (*Rou*, Part II, 3310).

<sup>3</sup>This is shown by the constant coupling in the Old-French texts of *amour* and *foi*. Examples are the following: "Tes hom serai par amur et par feid" (*Roland*, 3893); "Ki ne porte a hume ne fei ne amistié" (*Rou*, Part II, 3478); "Vos estes tuit mi home a masse. Si me devez amor et foi" (*Charrette*, 1790).

<sup>4</sup>See *Rou*, Part II, 1603 (quoted *supra*, p. 395, note 1); "Por quoi voloies ton droit seignor boisier? Tu le deusses amer et tener chier, Croistre ses terres et alever ses fiez" (*Coronnement Louis*, 140).

<sup>5</sup>De cest prist Rous estreiz conseilz Od ses amis, od ses feilz (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 495); Mais son conseil en ot ain pris, A son frere et a ses amis (*Brut*, 7169, speaking of a powerful noble).

<sup>6</sup>Emperor Louis says to Count William, his follower: "Gardé m'avez et servi par amor" (*Charroi de Nimes*, 307); Speaking of a powerful duke: Et a de bons amis, ce sevent li auquant, Ki bien li aideront a son besoing plus grant (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 3); On a warlike expedition, a *seigneur* calls upon his *amis* for aid: Hunalt qui sire ert del pais, Mandé sa gent et ses amis (*Brut*, 6032); An *amis* promises his *seigneur*: "Sire," fet il "je vos pleviz Que ja tant con je vis M'avroiz de mon secors mestier, Que ne vos aille lues aidier A quanque je porrai mander" (*Erec*, 3911).

If a follower refuses aid, he ceases to be the *amis* of his *seigneur*. Ce dist chascuns: "Se deus me saut, N'est vostre amis qui ci vos faut" (*Cligès*, 1309).

and his followers in general.<sup>1</sup> *Amis* and *vassals* (or *hom*)<sup>2</sup> are not synonymous. *Vassalage* was a contract whose conditions, specific and definite, imposed upon the contracting parties stipulated and mutual obligations, such as the granting of land on the part of the *seigneur* and the performance of a certain term of military service on the part of the vassal. • It was purely a business arrangement entered into for reasons of mutual advantage and not because of personal considerations. Good will on the part of the contracting parties was quite unessential and there are many examples in the Old-French texts in which *seigneur* and vassal are on the most unfriendly terms, if not at open war.<sup>3</sup> *Amistié* was purely a personal relation, about which there was nothing of the contract. Good will was its chief concept and its strength depended merely upon the faith and loyalty of the contracting parties. That there was a decided difference between *vassalage* and *amistié*, that the *vassals* of a *seigneur* stood in a relation to him different from the *amis*, may be seen in the numerous examples in the Old-French texts in which the *vassals* (or *hom*) of a *seigneur*, bound to him by feudal ties of land, etc., are contrasted with his *amis*,<sup>4</sup> bound to him by a personal tie.

<sup>1</sup> In the early period of the Frankish kingdom, all the followers of a *seigneur* were personal followers. It was only with the development of the Feudal System that land became the basis of society. This change was taking place before the date of the texts which form the basis for this study. See Stowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Vassals* and *hom*, referring to followers, were synonymous in Old-French.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the relations of William of Orange and Emperor Louis, or between Girart de Roussillon and his sovereign.

<sup>4</sup> Il fet ses homes et ses amis mander (*Couonnement Louis*, 2659; Count William of Orange decides to set out on an expedition); Otes manda ses humes e manda ses amis (*Rou*, Part II, 3165; King Otes sets out on an expedition); "Vostre hom est, ceo vus mande,

It has been said that,<sup>1</sup> during the Middle Ages, the "realty" bond began gradually to replace the "personal" bond as the basis of society. Hence, most of the followers of a *seigneur*, except in times of war, no longer lived with their lord, and the *maisniee* in its original character ceased to exist. Following these changed cultural conditions, *amistié* came to be considered the personal tie that bound to a *seigneur* his followers, whether or not these latter happened to be of his *maisniee*. Hence, *amis*

des or mais e amis" (*Rou*, Part II, 2183; Messenger of the Count of Flanders suing for peace from the King of France); Ses amis e ses humes e ses veisins preia (*Rou*, Part II, 4011; speaking of Tiebaut, Count of Chartres); A une Pasques a Paris Tint grant feste de ses amis; A ses homes randi lor pertes Et guere dona lor desertes (*Brut*, 10406; speaking of King Arthur after his conquest of France); Manda amis, manda ses homes (*Brut*, 14417); Et dist au roi: "Vostre fié vos randon; N'en tendrai mes vaillissant un bouton, Ne vostre amis serai ne vostre homs" (*Aliscans*, 3296; Count William to King Louis who has refused to aid him relieve Aliscans); Si asamblèrent les Englois, Lor amis et lor home tos (*Brut*, 14309; The Kings of Kent and Northumberland assemble their followers for an expedition); Il a laiens ses homes, ses amis (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 60; a count is besieged in his stronghold).

The followers bound to a *seigneur* by feudal ties were also called his *gent* or *vassal*, and differentiated from his *amis*, his personal followers: "Desramé sire, por quoi vas demorant Que ne semons tes amis et ta gent" (*Covenant Vivien*s, 76); Hunalt qui sire ert del pais Manda sa gent et ses amis (*Brut*, 6032); Et s'avoit ja grant ost mandee De sa jant et de ses amis (*Cligès*, 1063); N'out bon ami ne bon vassal Qui la ne fust apareilliez (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 7035).

A follower might be bound to a *seigneur* by either a realty or a personal bond, or by both. Count William was both the *vassals* and *amis* of King Louis (*Aliscans*, 3296). This dual relation is shown in such examples as the following: "Ses hom serez par amur et par bien, Trestute Espaigne tendrez de lui en fiet" (*Roland*, 39); "Sis hom es e li deis fei e amur porter" (*Rou*, Part II, 3478).

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 397, note 1.

shifted from meaning "a member of the *maisniee*" to meaning "a follower."<sup>1</sup>

In the study of *amis* used as a title in direct address,<sup>2</sup> the author has shown that the word came to be more and more used as a title for men of lower and lower rank, for servants and *bourgeois*, and less and less used as a title for men of equal or slightly lower rank, and that it shifted from meaning 'my friend' to meaning 'my inferior.' This pejorative shift in the meaning of *amis* used as a title resulted in the word ceasing to be employed as a designation for the relation between *seigneur* and follower. It would seem that *amistié* had ceased to exist by the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

*Amistié* was a bond that existed in all sections of France, as can be seen from the examples of *amis* and *amistié* as terms for the relation between *seigneur* and follower in texts from all portions of the territory. The fact that a large proportion of these examples collected are from Normandy might indicate that locality as the place of origin and chief development of the institution. The examples from the East are very few, Chrétien and other authors of Eastern texts using the word, with but few exceptions, in the meaning 'friend' only.

<sup>1</sup> The date of this shift in meaning was probably the same as that of the shift in meaning of *compainz* from signifying 'a fellow *chevalier* of the same *maisniee*' to signifying 'a fellow *chevalier* dependent upon the same *seigneur*.' See *infra*, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 26-9.

<sup>3</sup> The date of this change was about that of the disappearance of *compagnonage*. See *infra*, p. 408.

## II. NATURE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN FOLLOWER AND FOLLOWER IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

### a. *Compagnonage* of the Lower Degree.<sup>1</sup>

In the early Middle Ages, the armed followers (*chevaliers*)<sup>2</sup> of a *seigneur* belonged to his *maisniee* and lived together on the same terms of intimacy as would members of a family.<sup>3</sup> Supported by the *seigneur*, they were co-eaters of his bread. Hence, they came to be called *compagnons*<sup>4</sup> and were considered bound together by the tie of *compagnonage*. Collectively, they composed the *seigneur's* *compagne*.<sup>5</sup>

Previous writers on the subject have seen in *compagnonage* a bond between *seigneur* and follower.<sup>6</sup> This conclu-

<sup>1</sup>The *compagnonage* which existed among all the *chevaliers* dependent upon the same *seigneur* has been termed *compagnonage* of the Lower Degree to differentiate it from the more special and closer *compagnonage* (*Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree) which frequently united individual members of the *maisniee*. See *infra*, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup>In the early Middle Ages, *chevaliers* signified simply 'an armed horseman.' See Stowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>3</sup>See *supra*, p. 389, note 1.

<sup>4</sup>Like *compainz*, *compagnon*, the Old-German word for warrior, *gi-mazo*, also originally signified 'he who is a co-eater of the common bread.'

<sup>5</sup>In texts from the South of France, the *maisniee* was often designated as the *companha*. Et si augun de sa companha aura feyt a d'augun tout (*Far d'Olaron*, art. 7. Quoted by Flach; see *op. cit.*).

<sup>6</sup>Flach (*op. cit.*, pp. 435 ff.) concludes that *compagnonage* was a relation which existed, not only among the followers of a *seigneur*, but also between the followers and the *seigneur* himself. On p. 493, he writes: "Il aurait vu ensuite que le *compagnonage* est demeuré si vivace que c'est lui qui forme la base essentielle des rapports entre le *seigneur* et le vassal et que des lors les antithèses

sion is inexact.<sup>1</sup> As has been already suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 9), *compagnonage* was a tie, not between the *seigneur*

qui viennent d'être alignées s'évanouissent." On p. 471, he writes: "Les liens créés par la parenté, par la maisnie, par le compagnonage . . . se renforcent, soit entre chef et compagnon, soit entre compagnons d'un même chef, par des pactes d'une énergie croissante."

<sup>1</sup>This erroneous conclusion has been based upon examples, numerous in the Old-French texts, where the followers of a *seigneur* are spoken of as "*ses compagnons*" or collectively as "*sa compagne*." Such examples are the following: Si compaignon i fierent par vigor. (*Covenant Vivien*, 1737; speaking of the followers of Count William of Orange); Si compaignon od lui s'eslaissent (*Brut*, 13079; speaking of the followers of a noble of high rank); L'emperere chevauche a la barbe florie; .XM.:chevaliers a en sa compaignie (*Gui de Nanteuil*, 1554; speaking of the followers of Charlemagne); Richart virent plurer entre ses cumpaignuns (*Rou*, Part II, 2028; speaking of the *Duke of Normandy*); "Merci," ce dist Ogiers, "frans chevalier, baron, Ja estes vos mi home et mi bon compaignon" (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 177); "Car, je suis tos armés, si ai mil compaignons" (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 194); Or chevauche li rois, il et si compaignon (*Gui de Bourgogne*, 1680); Car ge m'en vois mes compaignons aidier (*Otinell*, 1960; Ogier is speaking); Apres mangier ne se remut, Li rois d'anre ses conpeignons (*Charrette*, 36, speaking of King Arthur); Et avuec lui si conpaignon (*Yvain*, 2174; speaking of King Arthur).

The sentence "Karles et ses compaignons," typical of the examples just quoted, may be interpreted to mean 'Charles and his followers who (with him) are co-eaters of the same bread (Charles' bread)' or 'Charles and his followers who (with one another) are co-eaters of the same bread (Charles' bread).' Previous writers have erred in accepting the first interpretation of this and similar examples. There is nothing in these examples which shows that the first interpretation is correct, while there are certain of these examples in which it is clearly shown that *compagnonage* existed, not between the *seigneur* and follower, but among the followers. In *Renaut de Montauban* (p. 156), Girart de Roussillon and his brother are at war with Charles and: Il desconfirent Karle et ses compaignons. Speaking (p. 156) of these same *compaignons*, the author says: Loier, le fils Karlon, A .CCC. chevaliers qui furent compaignon. In *Gui de Bourgogne* (1150), we read: Or s'ajoustent ensemble li .III C. compengnon Que Gui ot amené de Nanteuil, sa

and follower, but between follower and follower. This is borne out by the following indications:

1. There exist numerous examples in the Old-French texts where men enter into the relation of *compagnonage* with one another and where these are given full particulars concerning the social position of the contracting members. The men who enter into this relationship are always followers.<sup>1</sup> In Flach's treatise<sup>2</sup> and in the Old-French works consulted for this study, there does not occur a single example in which a *seigneur* enters into *compagnonage* with a follower.

maison. Later (1746), these *compagnon* are referred to as "*si compengnon*." For further examples, see *Bel Desconu*, 166-947, and *Perceval le Gauois*, 722-55.

These examples show clearly that, in such sentences as "Karles et si compaignon," *compagnonage* probably existed among the followers and not between *seigneur* and follower.

<sup>1</sup> See examples quoted elsewhere in this study. Especially interesting are the following:

"Or seres compaignon, vous et Joubert, Naires ert li tiers, de Saint Lambert." King Louis says this to the hero of the *Aiol* (4512), proposing to him that he take two *compagnons*: if the *compagnonage* between them had included the king, the latter would never have said: "Do you be *compagnons*!" *Compagnons* ou *convasseaux*, tenens fiefs du dit seigneur (*Cont de Chauny*, Vol. I, p. 659 (quoted by DuCange); *Compainz* is here the synonym of *covassal*; it is clear that the *compagnonage* does not exist between the *seigneur* and the follower, for a *seigneur* could not be the *covassal* of his own *vassal*; Atant ez vous poignant Berengier et Sanson, Beraut et Amauguin, cil furent compaignon Qui maintiennent la guerre por Aye d'Avignon. *Aye d'Avignon*, 2107; Plairoit vos a oïr qui sont li compaignon. *Aye d'Avignon*, 1843 (speaking of an expedition that a noble is organizing).

In the *Bel Desconu*, there is a certain *seigneur* of whom it is said that he has three *compagnons* (568); Later (579, 957), it is shown that the *compagnons* mentioned were *compagnon* of one another and were not *compagnon* of the *seigneur*.

<sup>2</sup> See *op. cit.*



2. In the Old-French texts consulted for this study, while there are several hundred examples in which a follower is referred to as the *compainz* of his fellow follower,<sup>1</sup> there is not a single example in which a *seigneur* is spoken of as the *compainz* of a follower or where a follower is spoken of as the *compainz* of his *seigneur*.<sup>2</sup>

3. During the Middle Ages, *compainz* was the title by which a man addressed his fellow to whom he was bound by *compagnonage*. If *compagnonage* were a relation between a *seigneur* and his follower, there would certainly be found among the one hundred and thirty-two examples of *compainz* used as a title in direct address which I collected<sup>3</sup> from Old-French texts some example of its use by a *seigneur* as a title for a follower, or by a follower as a title for a *seigneur*.

4. *Compainz* and *compagnonage* carry with them a notional and emotional value of equality that it is difficult to reconcile with the unequal positions of *seigneur* and follower. In certain examples, it is clearly shown that the *compagnon* were considered of a rank inferior to the *seigneur*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See examples quoted elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Roland, for example, is referred to as the *compainz* of Oliver, Gualtier del Hum, Yvorie, Yvon, and other members of Charles's *maisniee* (See Roland, 1898, 2055y, 2178); he is never referred to as the *compainz* of Charles or *vice versa*. Gauvain is referred to as the *compainz* of Lancelot, Erec, Yvain, and others (See *Charrette*, 6823; *Erec*, 4153; *Yvain*, 2422; *Oligès*, 398); he is never referred to as the *compainz* of Arthur, or *vice versa*. The examples in which the followers of a *seigneur* collectively are referred to as "si compaignon" have already been explained. See p. 401, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Stowell, *op. cit.*, under *Compainz*.

Roland, for example, addresses Oliver and other members of Charles' *maisniee* as *compainz*. See Roland, 1360, 1456, 2255y. He never thus addresses Charles.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Charroi de Nîmes* (311), King Louis tells Count William to take the land of another count. Then, says he: "Serviront toi

*Compagnonage* of the Lower Degree was, therefore, a bond not between a *seigneur* and the followers of his *maisniee*, but between the followers themselves. All members of the *maisniee* were not bound together by this tie. The esquires (*escuier*) and foot-soldiers (*serjant*) in their capacity of servants did not associate intimately with the armed horsemen (*chevalier*) and it was among the latter only that the bond existed.<sup>1</sup> All the *chevalier* of a *seigneur* were bound by *compagnonage*.

As the *chevalier* were often very numerous and as each was *ipso facto* the *compainz* of all his fellows, *compagno-*

.iij M. compaignon." In the *Aliscans* (7096), a noble desires to start out alone on an expedition. He says: "Ja n'i menrai ne compaignon ne per." In the *Bel Desconu* (520), a certain noble has three followers: Si estoient si compaignon, Son commant fissent sans tençon.

<sup>1</sup> Count William of Orange had: En sa compaignie maint chevalier membré (*Prise d'Orange*, 137); "Il (God) saut et beneïe l'empereor Karlon, Et toute sa compaignie de chevaliers" (*Renaut de Montauban*, 250); On the Nîmes expedition, Count William of Orange had En sa compaignie maint gentiz chevaliers (*Charroi de Nîmes*, 686); The brother of Count William, Hernaut, Grant compaignie de chevaliers mena (*Aliscans*, 2405). Berengiers chevaucha, il et sa compaignie. Et sont plus de .XXM. chevaliers que il guie (*Aye d'Avignon*, 1175); Li Vallet (young noble of high rank) est montés, o soi .M. comepegnons. N'i ot pas escuiers, ne serjans, ne garchons (*Gui de Nanteuil*, 2040); Et avuec lui (King Arthur) si compaignon, Et trestuit cil de sa maisniee (*Yvain*, 2174); Car il (noble of high rank) ne mena home o sei, Ne escuier ne compaignon (*Thèbes*, 575); Cinquante furent chevaier Qui sivrent le messagier: . . . Cinquante furent compaignon, N'i ot escuier ne garçon (*Thèbes*, 1475); Nous fusmes ja ensemble escuier, compaignon, En la cort au bon roi (*Aye d'Avignon*, 2051); King Arthur promises to give Alexander, a young noble, five hundred: chevaliers galois et mil serjanz de ma terre. Quant Alixandres voit ses janz, Ses compaignons et ses serjanz, Teus con li rois li viaut doner (*Cligès*, 1473. In this sentence, *compaignon* and *chevalier* are synonymous, and both are differentiated from the *serjant*).



ciated under a common leader for the furtherance of their reciprocal interests.

*Compagnonage* of the Lower Degree was firmly established as early as the *Chanson de Roland*. Probably, it was a bond among the warriors a considerable period before this time. Along with the establishment of *compagnonage*, *compainz* shifted from meaning 'a co-eater of the same bread' to meaning 'a fellow *chevalier* of the same *maisniee*,' and *compaigne* shifted to signify 'the body of *chevaliers* belonging to the *maisniee*.'

It has been said <sup>1</sup> that, during the early Middle Ages, the "realty" bond had begun to replace the "personal" bond as the basis of society. Hence, that most of the followers of a *seigneur*, except in times of war, no longer lived with their lord, and the *maisniee* in its original character ceased to exist. Following these changed cultural conditions, *compagnonage* ceased to be a tie limited to the household followers of a *seigneur* and was extended to include all the armed followers, or *chevaliers*, dependent upon him.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, *compainz* shifted from signifying a fellow *chevalier* of the same *maisniee* to signifying 'a fellow *chevalier* dependent upon the same *seigneur*,' while *compaigne* shifted to mean 'the body of *chevaliers* dependent upon the same *seigneur*.'

This changed *compagnonage* was much laxer in its nature than was the original bond. Living on their own estates, meeting only on their rare journeys to court or on warlike expeditions, the *compagnons* did not have the close community of interests, the affection arising from long association in a common life, that existed among the members of the *maisniee*.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 397, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> By the holding of a fief or tenure.

As the Middle Ages progressed, the tie between the followers of a *seigneur* grew weaker and weaker. Finally, there came a time when it was felt to be incongruous to designate these followers by a term which, in spite of its shifting meaning, still retained a trace of the original signification 'a co-eater of the same bread'; to keep up the fiction that they were bound to one another by any tie whatsoever. Consequently, the followers of a *seigneur* ceased to be called *compagnons* and *compagnonage* of the lower degree ceased to exist.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy the dates of the changes in the nature of *compagnonage* just described. At the time of the composition of the *Roland* (about 1090), it was still a tie among the members of the *maisniee* exclusively.<sup>2</sup> In the *Charroi de Nîmes* (date about 1130), indications that the "realty" bond had, sporadically at least, replaced the "personal" bond are present in the form of examples of *compagnon* considered as part of a fief or tenure and transferred from one seigneur to another with the transferral of the fief or ten-

<sup>1</sup> Before the composition of the *Roland*, *compainz* had also occasionally shifted to mean 'comrade.' When *compainz* signifying 'a fellow *chevalier* dependent upon the same *seigneur*' fell into disuse, the meaning 'comrade' became the usual signification of the word, a signification it has kept until the present day. See *Roland*, 1821, 2565; *Brut*, 835, 1211; *Rou*, Part II, 4061; *Yvain*, 6, 468; *Alexandre*, 123 (ed. Meyer).

<sup>2</sup> The *compagnons* referred to in the *Roland* are always members of the *maisniee* of some *seigneur*. In the following examples, they are members of Charles' *maisniee*: *Roland*, 285, 793, 858, 878, 884, 1020, 1160, 1253, 1261, 1368, 1379, 1482x, 1482h, 1515, 1580, 1692, 1757, 1898, 1975, 2018, 2055y, 2178, 2186, 2201, 2236, 2404, 3194, 3776. In the following example, they are members of the *maisniee* of a Saracen leader: *Roland*, 941.

ure.<sup>1</sup> Similar examples are found in the *Brut*<sup>2</sup> and *Renaut de Montauban*.<sup>3</sup> The *Roland* and the *Charroi de Nimes* portray cultural conditions of periods considerably earlier than those of the dates of their composition.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, we know from other sources that the "realty" bond was replacing the "personal" bond early in the ninth century.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that before the eleventh century *compagnonage* ceased to be a tie among *chevaliers* of the *maisniee* exclusively and had become a bond among all the *chevaliers* dependent upon the same *seigneur*; while *compainz* had shifted from signifying 'a fellow *chevalier* of the same *maisniee*' to signifying 'a fellow *chevalier* dependent upon the same *seigneur*.'

The date when *compagnonage* became an obsolete institution is also difficult to determine. Certainly, it flourished during the first half of the twelfth century<sup>6</sup> and was a living institution when the *Rou* was written about 1160.<sup>7</sup> In the opinion of the author, it became obsolete

<sup>1</sup> In the *Charroi de Nimes*, Emperor Louis advises Count William to take possession of the estate of a certain count. Then, says Louis: "Serviront toi .III M. compaignon" (*Charroi de Nimes*, 311). This example shows clearly that the personal bond was already firmly established, that the *compaignon* belonged to the land and served whomsoever possessed the land.

<sup>2</sup> Octa qui fuis Henguist estoit, A cui li rois doné avoit Grans terres et grans mansions a lui et a ses compaignons: *Brut*, 8631.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Renaut de Montauban* (p. 265), Emperor Charles tries to bribe Oliver to attack Renaut. "If you do so," says Charles, "Et s'aures Janvre et Pise tot en vostre abandon, Dont vos aures en fief .XM. compaignons."

<sup>4</sup> Reworkings of earlier works, they preserve much of the cultural conditions of these works.

<sup>5</sup> See Flach, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> See examples of *compagnonage* from the texts of that period quoted *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> "Cumpaignon, or as armes: N'alez mie targant" (*Rou*, Part II, 3800; Duke of Normandy to followers); Fist Hasteins venir ses

about this time, as in the texts examined for this study and belonging to the second half of the twelfth century and to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there is not a single example of *compagnonage*.

Exception may be taken to this statement on the ground that, in texts of the last third of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, there are found examples of *compagnonage* among members of the same *maisniee*.<sup>1</sup> The large majority of these examples occur, however, in Arthurian Romances, *compagnonage* existing among the followers of King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table. A very few of these examples are from the National Epics.<sup>2</sup> In both cases, it would seem that the

baruns, Bier e tuz ses cumpaignons (*Rou*, Part I, 638); Richard (Duke of Normandy) virent plurer entre ses compaignuns (*Rou*, Part II, 2028); Mais or oiez cume li avint A de ses meillors compaignons, E a ses plus riches barons (*Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie*, II, 2725; speaking of a duke); Od lui ot mort deus mil Bretons, De tos les meillors compaignons. (*Brut*, 1319; speaking of the King of Brittany who is killed).

<sup>1</sup>Or s'ajoustent ensemble li .III. C. compegnon Que Gui ot amené de Nanteuil sa maison (*Gui de Nanteuil*, 1150; speaking of personal followers of Gui de Nanteuil); Apres mangier ne se remut Li rois (Arthur) d'antre ses compeignons. Mout ot an la sale barons (*Charette*, 36); Et avec lui (Arthur) si compaignon Et trestuit cil de sa mesniee (*Yvain*, 2174); Et il (noble of high rank) a .III. cens compaignons, s'en va poignant as pavellons (*Perceval le Gaulois*, 11823); Que li rois (Arthur) n'avoit compaignon Qu'il ne retist de traison (*Perceval le Gaulois*, 16019); Jou ai, mon essiant, veu Des compaignons le roi Artu (*Perceval le Gaulois*, 6311); Devant le roi (Arthur) vint la pucele; Moult le salua simplement, Et ses compaignon ensement (*Bel Desconu*, 166); "Je vos retieng a compaignon, Et met en la Table Reonde" (*Bel Desconu*, 222; King Arthur to young noble); for other examples, see *Erec*, 2443, 2693, 2739; *Yvain*, 90, 3260, 4935; *Cligès*, 110, 356; *Perceval le Gaulois*, 15929, 15796, 16191, 18507.

<sup>2</sup>Many of these are reworkings of earlier works.

*compagnonage* described was a tradition surviving from an earlier age and did not reflect the cultural conditions of the time of the works in which they appear. Except the two classes of examples just mentioned, there is not an example of original *compagnonage* of the Lower Degree in the texts consulted.<sup>1</sup>

*b. Compagnonage of the Higher Degree.*

Each member of the *maisniee* was *ipso facto* bound by *Compagnonage* of the Lower Degree to every other member.<sup>2</sup> As has been suggested, it was natural in a large family<sup>3</sup> that a member often found a fellow whose tastes were so similar to his own that they became particular comrades. It seems probable that during the earlier Middle Ages this closer, more intimate, comradeship was formalized and became an institution. Like the tie among all the followers of a *seigneur*, this bond was also called *compagnonage*. To distinguish it from the *compagnonage* existing among all the followers of a *seigneur*, I have called it *Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree.

Many of the prominent heroes of the Old-French texts were bound by this *compagnonage*. Roland and Oliver offer the classic example.<sup>4</sup> Others are Gerins and Geriers

<sup>1</sup> Such texts as *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Flor et Blanchefleur*, *Guillaume de Palerme*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> See Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Oliviers monte desur un pui halcor, Si'n apelet Rollant, sun cumpaignun (*Roland*, 1020); Oliviers en apele, son vallant compaignon (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 221; speaking of Roland); Et c'est Rollans au vermeis ciglaton, Et d'autre part, son tres chier compaignon, Ce c'est li quens qui Oliviers a non (*Otinél*, 51); also, see *Roland*, 793, 1160, 1368, 1515, 1692, 1975, 2018, 2201, 3690; *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 224; *Otinél*, 974.



in the *Roland*,<sup>1</sup> the Quatre Fils Aymon in *Renaut de Montauban*,<sup>2</sup> Ganelon and Hardes in *Gui de Bourgogne*.<sup>3</sup> Bérenger and Sanson, Béraut and Amauguin, and Bérenger and Garnier in *Aye d'Avignon*.<sup>4</sup> Semiramis and a friend in the *Charrette*,<sup>5</sup> Gauvain and Lancelot in the *Charette*.<sup>6</sup> Gauvain and Erec in the *Erec*,<sup>7</sup> Gauvain and Yvain in the *Yvain*,<sup>8</sup> Gauvain and Alexander in the *Cligès*,<sup>9</sup> Amis and Amiles in the work of that name,<sup>10</sup> and others.

While a follower usually entered into *Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree with only one of his fellows, he could

<sup>1</sup> Li quens Gerins siet en ceval Sorel, Et sis cumpaing Geriers en Passe-cerf (*Roland*, 1379); also, see *Roland*, 1261, 1269, 2186, 2404.

<sup>2</sup> "Perdu aves Richart, le meillor compaignon" (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 248, one of the Quatre Fils Aymon to brother; Also, see *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 189, 249, 254, 285).

<sup>3</sup> Quand Ganes l'entendi, s'an ot grant marison. Il en a apelé Hardré, son compaignon, Tibaut et Alori, et ceus de Morillon (*Gui de Bourgogne*, 1148); also, see *Gui de Bourgogne*, 1063.

<sup>4</sup> Atant ez vous poignant Berengier et Sanson, Beraut et Amauguin, cil furent compaignon (*Aye d'Avignon*, 2107); Et furent compaignon entre lui et Garnier (*Aye d'Avignon*, 24; speaking of Duke Berenger and Count Garnier); also, see *Aye d'Avignon*, 112, 125.

<sup>5</sup> Li uns a non Semiramis, Et li autres est ses conpainz, S'ont d'un sanblant lor escuz tainz (*Charrette*, 5817).

<sup>6</sup> Or a grant joie, or est a lise, Quant son conpeignon a trouvé (*Charrette*, 6823; speaking of Gauvain who is delighted to have the lost Lancelot return to court).

<sup>7</sup> "Je sui Erec, qui fu jadis Vostre conpainz" (*Erec*, 4153; Erec to Gauvain).

<sup>8</sup> Li dui compaignon (*Yvain*, 2686; speaking of Gauvain and Yvain); Por voir, mes sire Gauvains aimme Yvain et conpaignon le claimme, Et Yvains lui (*Yvain*, 6006; also, see *Yvain*, 6476); Quar ce est mesire Gauvains Et ses compainz mesire Yvains (*Perceval le Gaulois*, 13716).

<sup>9</sup> Mout se fait amer a chascun Nes mes sire Gauvains tant l'aimme Qu'ami et conpaignon le claimme (*Cligès*, 398; speaking of Alexander).

<sup>10</sup> See *Amis et Amiles*, 11, 200, etc

bind himself by the tie to several. The *Twelve Peers* were thus bound and are often spoken of as the "*douze compagnons*."<sup>1</sup> Gauvain was bound by *compagnonage* to Lancelot, Erec, Yvain, and Alexander.<sup>2</sup> In *Perceval le Gaulois*, Carados, Aalardins and Cador were *compagnons*.<sup>3</sup> In the *Aiol*, the hero is bound by *compagnonage* to Joubert and Naires.<sup>4</sup>

In case a follower already bound by *Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree to one of his fellows desired to take another *compainz*, he was first of all obliged to obtain his fellows' permission.<sup>5</sup> Two followers who separately entered into *compagnonage* with a third were not *ipso facto* *compagnons* of one another.<sup>6</sup> Rank was a barrier to *Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree and a follower

<sup>1</sup> "Car nos aidiez li doze compaignon" (*Roland*, 1482x); La riere-guarde des .XII. cumpaignuns (*Roland*, 858); Si cumbatrai as .XII. cumpaignuns (*Roland*, 878); Tuit sont jugiet li doze cumpaignun (*Roland*, 884); Et traï par envie les .XII. compaignons, En Reinschevaus morurent a grant confussion (*Gui de Bourgogne*, 1157); Li .XII. compaignon (*Aye d'Avignon*, 336); Adonc i furent li .XII. compaignon (*Otinél*, 22); see Gaston Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, note 14.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 411, notes 6-8, inclusive.

<sup>3</sup> Iluec se plévirent lor fois Carados et Aalardins Et Cador, tes en fu la fins Que se tenroient compaignie A trestous les jors de lor vie (*Perceval le Gaulois*, 13448).

<sup>4</sup> King Louis says to Aiol, Joubert and Naires "Or serés compaignon, vous et Joubert, Naires ert li tiers, de Saint Lambert" (*Aiol*, 4512).

<sup>5</sup> In *Amis et Amiles*, the heroes are bound by *compagnonage*. Hardré, a noble, proposes (596) to Amile to become his *compainz*. The latter answers: "De folie plaidiez. Mon compaignon le plevi je l'autrier Qu'a compaignie n'aurai home soz ciel."

<sup>6</sup> Gauvain entered into *compagnonage* with Lancelot, Erec, Yvain, and Alexander. Yet Lancelot, Erec, Yvain, and Alexander were not *compaignon* one to the other.

never entered into the bond with his social superior or inferior.<sup>1</sup>

The inception of *Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree was marked by certain formal ceremonies, descriptions of which are to be found in the Old-French texts.<sup>2</sup> These ceremonies generally took place at dawn.<sup>3</sup> Most important was an oath of a most stringent nature, subscribed to by both parties and binding them to certain definite obligations. It was sealed by an embrace or by swearing on the Bible.<sup>4</sup> To break it was the most despicable of acts.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are no examples in which a king was the *compainz* of a *chevalier*, a *chevalier* of an *escuiers*, a *serjanz*, or a *bourgeois*.

<sup>2</sup> A description of the ceremony is given in the *Girart de Vienne*, p. 155 (ed. Tarbé): Rollant parlat au corage aduré: "Sire Olivier, ja ne vos iert celé, Je vos plevis la moie loialté Que plus vos aim que home qui soit né, Fors Karlemain li fort roi coroné; Puisque Deus veut que soions accordé, Jamais n'arai ne chastel, ne cité, Ne bosc, ne ville ne tor, ne fermeté, Que ne partiez, foi que je doi a Dé. Aude panrai, se il vos vient en gré; Et se je puis, ains .IIII. jors passé, Aures au roi et pais et amisté." Olivier l'ot; si l'en mercié; Andeus ses mains en tent vers damne dé: "Glorious sire, vos soies aoré Que vers cest home m'avés hui acordé." "Sire Rollant, ne vos soit pas celé, Je vos aim plus que home qui soit né." Tot maintenant ont lor chief desarmé; Si s'entrebaissent par bon volenté, Puis sont assis sur la verde erbe en pré, Lors fois plevissent en bone volenté, Et compaignie en trestot lor aé. (Quoted in Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

Olivier, speaking of Roland, says: "Car il est mes compainz plevis et afiés." *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 237.

A Saracen noble says to a Saracen noble who proposes to go forth to conquer a Christian noble. Dist Jossés d'Alixandre: "Grant folie pensastes: Hui matin par l'aube, quant nous nos desevrames, Compaignie jurames: faus est qui ne la garde: Nous l'iromes tout .V. creventer et abatre (*Elie de Saint Gille*, 371 ff.).

Compains estoit Ogier le combatant. Par foi plevie, par itel covenant Ne se falront dusqu'as membres perdont" (*Ogier*, 5422).

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Speaking of three men who enter into *compagnonage*: Si sont compaignié devant li roi; sor sainz se sont juré; plevi por foi. *Aiol*, 4519; Lo respont lo dus Boves: "Lo sacrament faron Fai

Faithfulness and devotion unto death were required of the *compagnon* who swore to love one another more than any other living being.<sup>1</sup> Aid against the attacks and encroachments of enemies was obligatory.<sup>2</sup> A *compainz* was bound to avenge the death of his fellow.<sup>3</sup> A *compainz* was bound to give his fellow the option of fighting any duels to which he might be challenged and the option became an

aporter j libre on lhi evangeli son, Juran si compannia, lhi bango sus el mento. *Daurel et Beton*, p. 26 (quoted by Flach, see *op. cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> The man who broke this oath was considered "faus." See *supra*, p. 413, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> See examples from *Girart de Vienne* quoted on page 413, note 2. The following example is from the *Daurel et Beton* (quoted by Flach): Duke Bevue of Antona is a powerful and rich seigneur who enters into *compagnonage* with Count Gui on the following basis: "Lo meu alue vos solvi, e aujo lolh baro; Et seret vos en gaun segner de ma mayzo. Jurat mi companhia a totz jorns que vivo ab nos. Mas s'ieu prengui molhen e nom venh enfant, S'ieu mori denan vos, companh, ieu la vos do Mes castels e mas vilas, ma tera e maio. Vos solvi, bels companh, eus meti a bando." Gui accepts and stipulates: "Et jeo pren lo, si vos plas, ab a ital gaserdo. Guidaray vostras ostz em metray a bando Pertut on vos volres e lai on vos er bo." The parties to the contract swear the above at Antona, before the assembly of *barons*: See *Ogier*, 5422. Quoted, p. 413, note 2.

In the *Renaut de Montauban* (p. 194), the Quatre Fils Aymon, bound by *compagnonage*, are hard pressed. Three of them urge the fourth to save himself and let them fight alone. He replies: "U nos i garrons tuit, u nos tuit i morrons." Later (p. 218), L'uns ne doit faillir l'autre por or ne por mangon.

<sup>2</sup> "Compainz, ne vos cremés. Od vos irai et mes grans parentés. A vingt milliers seromes bien nombrés. Ne vos falroie que je sui vos jurés." *Ogier*, 4931.

"Sire Fromons de Bordelle la grant, Compaignons d'armes avons esté lons tens. Amé vous ai de fin cuer léaument, Bien me montrastes a l'encommencement Puis en l'estour ou j'entrai fierement Vous me guerpites et li votre parant (*Garin le Loherain*, I, p. 124; quoted by Flach. See *op. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> Et Cador l'a tout detrencié, Si a son compaignon vengié (*Perceval le Gaulois*, 15401).

obligation in case the *compainz* challenged was unable for any reason, to fight.<sup>1</sup>

The *compagnons* often had the same devices painted on their shields.<sup>2</sup> They generally shared all property in common.<sup>3</sup> A *compainz* was required to obtain his fellow's permission in case he wished to marry.<sup>4</sup> A *compainz* frequently married his fellow's sister.<sup>5</sup> In case of his fellow's death, a *compainz*, if a bachelor, often married the widow.

*Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree lasted until the death of the contracting parties,<sup>6</sup> until one of these gave notice of his intention of dissolving the bond, or until one of these broke faith.<sup>7</sup>

*Compagnonage* of the Higher Degree flourished in all sections of France during the epoch of the migrations of the Frankish tribes and the early days of the Frankish Kingdom. Unadapted to a more complicated civilization, it is doubtful if it long survived this primitive period.

<sup>1</sup> Roland and Renaut de Montauban are about to fight a duel. But Roland pauses: "Renaus," ce dist Rollans, "i petit m'atendés. G'irai a Olivier le congié demander. Car, il est mes compains plevis et afés. Ne puis prendre bataille vers home qui soit nés, Que li quens ne la face se il li vient a gré" (*Renaut de Montauban*, p. 237).

Ganelon defies Roland: Et Olivier por ço qu'est sis cumpainz (*Roland*, 285).

<sup>2</sup> Li uns a nom Semiramis, Et li autres est ses conpainz, S'ont d'un sanblant lor escuz tainz (*Charrette*, 5817).

<sup>3</sup> See example from *Girart de Vienne*, quoted on p. 413, note 2. See example from the *Daurel et Beton*, quoted on page 414, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See *Amis et Amiles*, 1831.

<sup>5</sup> Roland is engaged to Aude, Oliver's sister. See the example from the *Girart de Vienne*, quoted on page 413, note 2. See *Otinél*, 518.

<sup>6</sup> The *Quatre Fils Aymon* were *compagnon*. One of them is killed. Then: Or sont descompaignié li .IIII. fil Aymon. *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 189.

<sup>7</sup> See *Aye d'Avignon*, 24, 112, 124.

Probably, it had ceased to be a living institution by the eleventh century. Its presence in the Arthurian Cycle, in the *Roland*, and in certain *Chansons de Geste* strongly influenced by the *Roland*,<sup>1</sup> is due to the already noted fact that these works reflect the cultural conditions of a period much earlier than the date of their composition.<sup>2</sup>

WILLIAM A. STOWELL.

<sup>1</sup> The influence of the *Roland* on the authors of such works as *Renaut de Montauban*, *Otincl*, *Gui de Bourgogne*, *Aiol*, *Aye d'Avignon*, and *Amis et Amiles*, is evident.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 409.